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IS-52897

Romania

30 Dec. 1960

Publication in Patris of General Nicolae  
Radescu's Statement to Rumanian National  
Committee, Made on 27 March 1960

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OF INFO 27 March 1960 (except as noted)  
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Documentary

1. Attached herewith for your information is a copy of General Nicolae Radescu's statement bitterly attacking Alexander Grotzian, which was made to the Rumanian National Committee on 27 March 1960, published in Patris, issue of September 1960. Patris is published in Germany by General Ion Georgea former Rumanian Minister to Berlin and an adherent of General Radescu.
2. It is requested that this document be returned to this office by 31 January 1961.

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"(All Rumanian publications in exile have written and are writing about the crisis within the Rumanian National Council (sic), bringing various news more or less close to the truth, from which Rumanian public opinion has not yet succeeded in forming a precise idea of the conditions that underlay the formation of the National Council, and, then, of the causes that prevented it from working as we would have wished it to do.

"The document we are publishing below will be revealing and will have the effect of dispelling all the tendentious rumors that have so long been circulating with regard to the crisis of the National Council, enlightening all our compatriots as to where there has been good faith and where not.

"Our hope in publishing this document goes beyond this need to clarify the situation, because we nourish the belief that, if hitherto certain errors in appreciating the factors that pretend to represent us in the National Council have still persisted, this will no longer be possible the moment everyone will know what the preoccupations of those political factors have been and are. This knowledge is, we believe, essential to the good functioning of the democratic principles themselves, which demand imperiously the restoration of a perfect harmony between the decisions taken by the rightful factor, and the feeling of Rumanian public opinion. That is why we have decided to give publicity to this document. The editors.)"

"Gentlemen:

"The Rumanian National Committee (sic) has reached a dead end that can endanger its very existence. I have therefore considered it my duty to call a special meeting, in the course of which the entire situation may be examined.

"So that there may exist no erroneous interpretation concerning my own opinion in the matter I shall expose, I have put in writing the statement that I shall make, so that it may be preserved in the archive of the Committee and consulted by anyone who may wish to do so.

"As regards myself, I must confess from the outset that, realizing the aspect the present Committee would take, I doubted whether it could function efficiently after it was constituted.

"I was of the opinion that a close union of all democratic elements in exile must be realized, and that, therefore, the National Committee should have been made up of the selection of the most representative elements, able to serve in the hard task we undertook. The result would have been the creation of a homogeneous group, irrespective of other considerations. In reality, the solution adopted for constituting the Rumanian National Committee was based on a formula presented by the late Niculescu-Buzesti, who proposed the formation of an organ composed of two distinct categories of members. One of these categories was to consist of persons belonging to the political parties, designated by the so-called Council of the Political Parties, created ad hoc,

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outside of Rumania's borders; the other group was to consist of personalities outside [redacted] the parties, who, in order to become members of the Committee, had likewise to obtain the consent of the Council of Political Parties. Moreover, it had been decided that the number of members belonging to the first group should be greater than that of the neutral group. It was my belief that the solution proposed by myself had a more solid basis, because there is no category of exiled citizens in a position to claim that they were the most select people able to escape from Communist Rumania and, for that reason, entitled to a special privilege.

"The constitution of an organ consisting of two groups, of which one has from the outset both a numerical superiority and special prerogatives, did not present in my view the guarantee of success for the Committee's future.

"I was so convinced of the difficulties that would arise because of the faulty constitution of the National Committee, that I considered it necessary to express my concern to the King.

"Because my objections were disregarded, I had to submit to the decision to which the King had already given his consent. That my concern was justified was immediately proven, when the persons to be admitted to the Committee came to be discussed.

"Following an unsuccessful attempt to exclude Messrs. Gafencu and Caranfil, it was impossible to obtain consent for the entry of Messrs. Davila and Tillea, in spite of all my insistence. The presence of those two personalities would have brought the greatest advantages to our cause, seeing that they had extensive political and press connections which none of us can claim to have, in the two great capitals, Washington and London.

"I wish to call attention in passing that the most zealous supporter of the formula adopted for the constitution of the National Committee was Mr. Cretzianu. In the letter he wrote to me in January 1948, he stated that he favored a Committee consisting of persons living abroad and representing the political parties of a national and democratic character, to which should be added myself and Mr. Visoianu, because both of us had held high government posts after August 23, 1944, with the consent of those parties. In other words, in the opinion of Mr. Cretzianu, no refugee could rightfully enter the National Committee, whatever his value may have been, unless he was either a party man or minister subsequent to August 23, 1944. If he admitted an exception in my case and in that of Mr. Visoianu, he made this concession, not because we might have had some merit, but because, at a certain moment, we had had contact with the political parties.

"Such was the conception with which I had to work.

"In the end, after much loss of time, the Rumanian National Committee proceeded to work. Its true character was revealed from the very first meeting of the Committee, at which a so-called majority group (made up of the members designated by the Council of Political Parties, to which were added Messrs. Cretzianu and Visoianu) formed a common front, while Messrs. Gafencu and Caranfil and myself were treated as though we were but tolerated in the Committee.

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"I consider it necessary to mention that Messrs. Cretzianu and Visoianu, although they entered the Committee as members outside the parties, made known to me in writing, at the time when I took the initiative of forming the Rumanian National Committee, that they had already accepted to participate in a committee that was to be formed by the parties.

"The first clash within the Rumanian National Committee took place on the occasion of the selection of a Secretary General. To this post there had been proposed Mr. Brutus Coste, a young diplomat acknowledged by anyone as being exceptionally qualified. On a previous occasion, Mr. Cretzianu had described him as one of the foremost young Rumanian diplomats, in whom he placed great hopes. To the amazement of everyone, the one who opposed with the greatest vehemence the appointment of Mr. Brutus Coste was Mr. Cretzianu. His previous opinion being recalled to him, he admitted to have given it as above, but he added: 'Later, on a special occasion, I was dissatisfied with Coste.'

"In this manner, Mr. Cretzianu did not shrink from sacrificing the interests of the National Committee to his own personal dissatisfactions, seeing that Mr. Coste would have been the best Secretary General that the National Committee could have had.

"Finally, Mr. Cretzianu's point of view had to be admitted, although none of the members of the Committee contested the merits of Mr. Coste; but because they acted with solidarity as a group, the nomination of Mr. Coste was rejected.

"The same harsh opposition by Mr. Cretzianu was encountered in the matter of admitting Messrs. Davila and Tillea into the Committee, which was brought forward again, when the appointment of a Secretary General was being discussed, and with the same success for Mr. Cretzianu.

"I wish to stress that the Mr. Cretzianu's uncompromising way of imposing his own views, his inclination to make his own opinion prevail at any price, his aggressiveness and the violence shown by him toward members that did not share his point of view, were the principal causes that led to the present situation within the National Committee.

"With great patience and concern for the great cause that we must defend, it might perhaps not have been impossible to smooth out opposing points of view. However, the challenging attitude of Mr. Cretzianu cut off all roads to an understanding. It was an attitude that time was unable to attenuate, because a new element intervened, making Mr. Cretzianu still more virulent.

"I refer to the public funds that were transferred abroad, for the support of the struggle for the liberation of our country, in the name of Messrs. Visoianu and Cretzianu.

"At another meeting, I informed the National Committee of a communication received from Mr. Pella, concerning the purpose for which these funds were constituted. Mr. Pella was the person, in his capacity at that time as Rumanian Minister in Switzerland, to whom these funds were entrusted by a special

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committee formed to that end. In conformity with their constitution, it would have been self-understood that these funds should have been brought into the patrimony of the National Committee, immediately following the latter's formation, because this National Committee was now the sole organ qualified to determine the manner in which these available monies should be used.

"Following a gesture to this effect, the entire issue of the funds was raised in a letter I received from Mr. Caranfil, and which I submitted to the National Committee for discussion. Requesting an explanation from Messrs. Visoianu and Cretzianu, the following reply was received: 'The funds were constituted for a special purpose that cannot be revealed; as for the manner in which they are to be used, this is a matter which concerns us exclusively, and we feel no obligation to give an account to anyone.'

"This statement being obviously unsatisfactory, the discussion that followed became very heated, especially after Messrs. Visoianu and Cretzianu, in order to create a diversion, found it proper to accuse me in violent terms of having accepted the support of Mr. Malaxa, in order to be able to help emigre Rumanians who were in great want. These gentlemen considered this support, offered to myself in the conditions shown, to be degrading.

"Mr. Caranfil likewise intervening in the discussion, and arguing that the funds must necessarily be handed over to the National Committee, Mr. Cretzianu, having nothing to answer, addressed that gentleman with the words: 'You are impertinent.'

"I must stress that I have informed everyone of the assistance work I undertook with the means offered by Mr. Malaxa, one year prior to the formation of the National Committee. Neither Mr. Visoianu nor Mr. Cretzianu, who were aware of this, had considered such assistance work degrading until that moment. But it seems that the delicate matter of the funds that belong to the nation, when it was brought into discussion, constituted a good pretext to bring up my own connections with Mr. Malaxa.

"I must also call your attention to the fact that I have explained to the Committee the manner in which the sums offered by Mr. Malaxa were used, although I had no obligation to do so. To wit:

- "a. 30 scholarships for the students in Paris;
- "b. Financial help given a number of intellectuals;
- "c. The upkeep of the Rumanian Institute at the Sorbonne;
- "d. The editing of a newspaper;
- "e. The editing of 'Luceafarul', a literary magazine;
- "f. Connections with our country, and so forth.

"Mr. Cretzianu furnished no explanations concerning the manner in which he used the funds that are in his possession.

"It had become perfectly clear at that moment that Mr. Cretzianu's main concern was to find the means to eliminate me from the National Committee, attempting to find, at all costs, pretexts to compromise me.

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"I found myself in the fortunate situation that my past activity in Rumania, as well as that as a political man in exile, presented no vulnerable points. Even Mr. Cretzianu had until lately described me, exaggerating, of course, as being a great patriot and hero. But men are changeable in their opinions concerning their fellows. Mr. Cretzianu is not one of the more constant, as witness the Coste case for instance.

"It happened, shortly after the Committee's session described above, that certain documents were published in connection with the Coplon-Gubitchev espionage trial, that were found in the handbag of the above-mentioned spy, and contained information concerning my own activity in the struggle against Communism. It was proven thus:

"a. That I had maintained connections with certain military circles;

"b. That, through the intermediary of Mr. Caranfil, I had been in contact with the underground movement in Rumania;

"c. That, lastly, I supported, with the financial help of Mr. Malaxa, the resistance against Communism.

"I consider that a good Rumanian can be put honored by the kind of information furnished by Judith Coplon. But Mr. Cretzianu was of another opinion. For him, it was a pretext to try and strike out at me. And he was determined not to lose this occasion. His procedure was, on the one hand, to announce to the Committee that I am a compromised person, seeing that it said in the published documents that I had accepted the help of Mr. <sup>Niculescu</sup> Malaxa. On the other hand, he ordered hundreds of photostats of the reports published by the Washington newspapers, excerpts from the Coplon documents (the New York papers published very little in this connection), and sent them to his agents in Europe, for instance Mr. Anastasiu, in Switzerland, to be distributed everywhere.

"But Mr. Cretzianu was not content with this attack. He was determined to speculate this opportunity to the utmost.

"Bringing the matter before the National Committee, in order to obtain a vote of censure that would eliminate me from the presidency of the Committee, Mr. Cretzianu resorted to procedures that I need not describe.

"Indeed, three weeks after he brought up this matter before the Committee for discussion, he approached three of his friends of his, members of the Committee, who were living in Europe at that time, and who had never taken part in the sessions of the National Committee, hence had no idea of what was going on within it. To these three members, a motion of censure was sent, composed by Mr. Cretzianu, inviting them to sign it. They did so. Three weeks later, when a session of the Committee was held, at the close of discussions that lasted three days, Mr. Cretzianu presented the text of the motion of censure, signed by six members, of whom three lived in Europe, and the fourth the late Niculescu-Buzesti, was dying in a hospital.

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*signe*  
"Messrs. Gafencu, Caranfil, and Parcasanu, shocked by this machination, protested, sending personal letters to His Majesty the King, energetically denouncing such methods of defamation. *note*

"The persistent attempts to slander and discredit me never ceased even after this attack; they have gone on uninterruptedly. Thus, during a session last December, Mr. Cretzianu covered me with insults that provoked the immediate protests of Messrs. Gafencu, Caranfil, and Parcasanu, obliging him to withdraw the words used.

"I decided on that occasion to obtain a clarification. On the insistences of our friends of the National Committee for a Free Europe, urging me to go on and be patient, I was ready once again to try to reach a practical solution on the available bases.

"Yet, Mr. Cretzianu's passion is solely responsible for the ensuing situation. His loss of temper, on the occasion of a private meeting held with certain of the members of the Committee, when he allowed himself to utter the most vulgar insults and the most odious calumnies against myself, put an end to the reserves of patience I had kept for more than a year, at the price of acute moral sufferings.

"At that meeting, it seems that Mr. Cretzianu altered the paragraph of the text concerning the distributions of assignments he held within the Commission of Three. He was outspoken in admitting that the purpose of this modification was to restrict any initiative coming from the part of the President.

"The situation reaching this limit, I must declare that any cooperation of mine with Mr. Cretzianu has become henceforth impossible.

"The National Committee may continue its activity, improving its methods of work subsequent to its reorganization, in the case when Mr. Cretzianu consents to renounce his place on the Committee. If this step is not forthcoming, I declare further that I withdraw my consent that Mr. Cretzianu required when he became a member of the Committee.

"I do not pretend that this withdrawal of consent will have any practical effect, because, although the task of being President imposed duties and responsibilities upon me, I still cannot resort to any of the measures that would be called for in the event that the fulfillment of the work program is thwarted. This withdrawal of consent has merely the purpose of strengthening my own decision no longer to cooperate with Mr. Cretzianu within the Committee.

"I wish, likewise, to inform you that, should this state of affairs remain unchanged, I suspend the session of the Committee until the situation is clarified. In what manner? I do not pretend to make prophecies. Time will show. It may become necessary to resort to a suit for a defamation, against the person that believes it possible to proffer calumnies unpunished."

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